Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

# Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARIS 24822 01 OF 03 261335Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 SP-02 ISO-00 IO-13 SS-15 PM-05
OES-07 /065 W
----------070157 261430Z /47 S
R 261320Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7662
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY DJIBOUTI
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 24822

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: PDIP FR XW
SUBJ: GUIRINGAUD TRIP TO EAST AFRICA

REF: (A) NAIROBI 10766, (B) LUSAKA 2451, (C) MAPUTO 1007, (D) DAR ES SALAAM 3379, (E) STATE 201552

SUMMARY: THE OFFICIAL QUAI VIEW OF GUIRINGAUD'S VISIT TO KENYA, ZAMBIA, AND MOZAMBIQUE IS THAT IT WAS A "SUCCESS" EVEN THOUGH THE ABORTED TANZANIAN VISIT GOT THE HEADLINES. SOME QUAI SOURCES THINK GUIRINGAUD OVER-REACTED IN DAR ES SALAAM. PUBLIC REACTIONS RANGED FROM APPROVAL OF GUIRINGAUD'S REFUSAL TO LET FRANCE BE INSULTED TO THOUGHTFUL QUESTIONING ABOUT REASONS FOR
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 24822 01 OF 03 261335Z

AFRICAN HOSTILITY TO FRANCE. GUIRINGAUD AT LEAST GAINED FIRST HAND KNOWLEDGE OF HOW THESE COUNTRIES VIEWED FRANCE AND ITS POLICIES. THE FRENCH CAME AWAY WITH A HEIGHTENED CONCERN ABOUT THE "RADICALIZATION" OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN COUNTRIES BECAUSE OF THE SOUTH AFRICA PROBLEM AND THE NEED FOR A SPEEDY RESOLUTION OF THE RHODESIAN QUESTION BECAUSE OF

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

THE DECLINING ECONOMIC SITUATION IN THE SURROUNDING COUNTRIES. THE FRENCH ARE ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT THE INCREASING INTANGIBILITY OF SOME FRONTIERS. THE SHARPNESS OF THE ATTACKS ON NUCLEAR MATTERS HAVE SENSITIZED THE FRENCH TO THE NEGATIVE AFRICA VIEW OF ITS PAST NUCLEAR POLICY. END SUMMARY.

1. WE SAW THE QUAI DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS HAREL ABOUT FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER GUIRINGAUD'S TRIP TO EAST AFRICA. HE GAVE US THE GENERAL FRENCH VIEW OF THE PURPOSE BEHIND THE TRIP AND ITS ACCOMPLISHMENTS. (HAREL DID NOT ACCOMPANY THE FOREIGN MINISTER, AND NEXT WEEK WE SHALL SEE OTHER QUAI CONTACTS WHO DID FOR SOME MORE PRECISE INFORMATION SUCH AS THAT REQUESTED REF E.)

2. HAREL SAID THAT THE SPECTACULAR ABORTING OF THE TRIP TO TANZANIA HAD OVERSHADOWED IN THE PRESS THE MORE SOLID POLITICAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS. WHILE FRANCE HAD FREQUENT CONTACTS WITH FRANCOPHONE AFRICA, IT KNEW THE EAST AFRICAN COUNTRIES LESS WELL; THIS WAS THE FIRST TRIP THERE BY A FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER. THE TRIP PERMITTED THE FRENCH TO EXPLAIN THEIR VIEWS AND TO GET A FIRST HAND VIEW OF THE COUNTRIES. PARTICULARLY NOW WHEN AFRICA CANNOT BE SO EASILY COMPARTMENTALIZED BECAUSE OF CONFLICTS (THE HORN, SOUTHERN AFRICA, ZAIRE, ETC.) IT WAS ESSENTIAL FOR THE FRENCH TO HAVE CONTACTS CONFIDENTIAL



WITH ALL THE AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND MOVEMENTS.

3. IN THIS LIGHT, GUIRINGAUD'S TRIP SHOULD BE CONSIDERED TO HAVE BEEN A SUCCESS. IT WAS A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT THAT IT SHOULD TAKE PLACE AT ALL, AND ONE SHOULD NOTE THAT THE TALKS IN THREE COUNTRIES OUT OF FOUR HAD BEEN USEFUL. THE WELCOME WAS GOOD IN KENYA WHERE THERE WERE FRANK AND CLEAR EXCHANGES. WHILE THE ZAMBIANS SHOWED A CERTAIN RESERVE AT THE BEGINNING, THEY BECAME MORE UNDERSTANDING AND WARM AT THE END OF THE VISIT. IN MOZAMBIQUE THEY THOUGHT THEY HAD REALLY MADE A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO MACHEL'S UNDERSTANDING OF FRENCH POLICY. MACHEL LED OFF WITH A STREAM OF ATTACKS ON THE WEST IN GENERAL, BUT THIS CLEARLY APPEARED TO BE FOR HIS OWN JOURNALISTS AND HIS PUBLIC. IN THE PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS HE NOTED BRIEFLY FRANCE'S FAILURE TO TAKE POSITIVE ACTIONS CONCERNING MOZAMBIQUE IN THE PAST, BUT SAID THAT THIS WAS A PAGE OF HISTORY WHICH SHOULD NOW BE CONSIDERED AS TURNED. MACHEL SAID IN PARTICULAR THAT THE CONSIDERED THAT FRANCE WAS TRYING TO REVERSE ITS POLICY CONCERNING SOUTH AFRICA AND THE SITUATION IN SOUTH

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

NOTE BY OC/T: DISTRIBUTION COORDINATED WITH MR. CASWELL, S/S-O.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARIS 24822 02 OF 03 261327Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 SP-02 ISO-00 IO-13 SS-15 PM-05
OES-07 /065 W
----------070052 261434Z /47 S
R 261320Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7663
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY DJIBOUTI
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 PARIS 24822

AFRICA IN GENERAL AND HE TOOK POSITIVE NOTE OF THIS DEVELOPMENT.

4. PRESIDENT KAUNDA HAD NOTED THAT FRENCH RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA WERE THE KEY TO THE PROBLEMS WHICH THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN COUNTRIES HAD WITH FRANCE. HE NOTED PARTICULARLY THAT RHODESIA, WHICH WAS THE MOST IMMEDIATE PROBLEM, WAS ABLE TO HOLD ON ONLY THANKS TO THE AID FROM SOUTH AFRICA. IT WAS USEFUL FOR GUIRINGAUD TO MAKE CLEAR TO KAUNDA AND THE OTHERS THAT FRANCE WAS NOT ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL TRADING PARTNERS OF SOUTH AFRICA NOR WAS IT ANY LONGER A SIGNIFICANT ARMS
CONFIDENTIAL

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009



SUPPLIER. IT WAS EQUALLY IMPORTANT, HAREL COMMENTED, FOR GUIRINGAUD TO BE EXPOSED TO THE STRENGTH OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN FEELING ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODE-SIA, A CONTRIBUTION TO A REAL UNDERSTANDING AT A HIGHER LEVEL.

5. THE FRENCH WERE CONCERNED ABOUT WHAT THEY CONSIDERED THE PROGRESSIVE RADICALIZATION OF THE COUNTRIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. SINCE THE COLONIAL PERIOD THERE HAD BEEN STRONG ECONOMIC CONNECTIONS BETWEEN RHODESIA AND THE OTHER NEIGHBORING BRITISH COLONIES. WITH THE CURRENT CLOSING OF THE FRONTIERS, RAILROAD TRANSPORTATION AND OTHER ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMIES OF THESE COUNTRIES HAD BEEN DISTURBED AND THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN TURN HAVE RADICALIZED THE POPULATION AND GOVERNMENTS, WHICH ARE INCLINED TO BLAME THE ENTIRE WEST. THESE COUNTRIES DOUBT THE POSSIBILITY OF SOLVING THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM PEACEFULLY. THEY MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE KEY TO THE PROBLEM WAS SOUTH AFRICA AND THAT DRASTIC MEASURES, SUCH AS AN END TO ALL ECONOMIC CONTACTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA, ARE NEEDED FOR A SOLUTION OF THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM.

6. BY THE END OF GUIRINGAUD'S STAY, HE HAS USUALLY CONVINCED HIS INTERLOCUTORS OF FRENCH GOOD WILL, HAREL SAID. EVEN IN THE CASE OF TANZANIA THE FRENCH THOUGHT THE MESSAGE THEY HAD CONVEYED TO THE THREE OTHER COUNTRIES WOULD GRADUALLY GET THROUGH TO THE TANZANIAN GOVERNMENT. IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT NONE OF THE OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES (BY IMPLICATION THE US AND THE UK) ATTEMPT TO IMPROVE THEIR OWN POSITION IN SOME OF THESE AFRICAN COUNTRIES BY DENEGRATING FRENCH POLICY IN THE CONFIDENTIAL



AREA. ONE SHOULD DEFINITELY CONSIDER THAT NO PART OF AFRICA IS A PRIVATE PRESERVE (CHASSE GARDEE) OF ANY ONE COUNTRY. ALL OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES SHOULD SHOW SOLIDARITY IN ORDER TO IMPROVE THE ABILITY OF EACH TO ACT EFFECTIVELY IN AFRICA.

7. THE SOVIET UNION HAS OBVIOUSLY FOUND THE CURRENT SITUATION IN AFRICA FERTILE GROUND FOR STIMULATING THE RADICALIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES AND TURNING THEM AGAINST ALL WESTERN COUNTRIES.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

GUIRINGAUD HAD RECOGNIZED THIS WHEN HE POINTED OUT THE INSIDIOUSNESS OF THE TASS ATTACK ON FRANCE JUST AS HE WAS STARTING HIS TRIP IN AFRICA. HAREL NOTED THAT IT WAS RIDICULOUS THAT FRENCH CONTRACTS FOR FUTURE DELIVERY OF ATOMIC POWER PLANTS (OPERATING DATE 1985) COULD HAVE ANY IMPACT ON SOUTH AFRICA'S CURRENT CAPABILITIES TO CONDUCT A NUCLEAR TEST.

8. HAREL WAS STILL SOMEWHAT DEFENSIVE ABOUT THE TANZANIAN INCIDENT. HE SAID THAT IT WAS UNFORTUNATE THAT NYERERE SHOULD HAVE ACTED IN SUCH A FASHION AS TO MAKE IT SO CLEAR THE GOT WAS BEHIND THE DEMONSTRATIONS. GUIRINGAUD WOULD HAVE BEEN COMPLETELY UNMOVED BY DEMONSTRATIONS HAD HE NOT THOUGHT THEY WERE PART OF WHAT WAS LAID ON BY HIS HOSTS.

9. AS AN AFTER THOUGHT HAREL SAID THE FRENCH WERE BECOMING INCREASINGLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE "INTANGIBI-LITY" OF THE FRONTIERS IN AFRICA. DESPITE THE OAU AND WESTERN NATIONS VIEWS CONCERNING EXISTING FRONTIERS, FRONTIERS WERE BECOMING ONE OF THE DIFFICULT GENERAL PROBLEMS REQUIRING WESTERN ATTENTION. HAREL CITED SHABA IN ZAIRE, THE HORN AND CHAD/LIBYA, AND SAID FRANCE THOUGHT THE PROBLEM MIGHT SPREAD.

10. COMMENT: HAREL GAVE US THE PREDICTABLE UP-BEAT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 PARIS 24822 02 OF 03 261327Z

DEBRIEFING THE QUAI HAS BEEN PROVIDING TO A VARIETY OF EMBASSIES, BUT IT WAS FOR THE MOST PART RATHER

NOTE BY OC/T: DISTRIBUTION COORDINATED WITH MR. CASWELL, S/S-O.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARIS 24822 03 OF 03 261330Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 SP-02 ISO-00 IO-13 SS-15 PM-05
OES-07 /065 W

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

----------070147 261438Z /47 S
R 261320Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7664
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY DJIBOUTI
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 PARIS 24822

BALANCED. THE QUAI HAD NOT EXPECTED TOO MUCH FROM THIS FIRST CONTACT EXCEPT MUTUAL EXPLORATION. IN TANZANIA THE FRENCH MADE CLEAR THEIR DESIRE TO PLAY A MORE ACTIVE ROLE THROUGHOUT AFRICA. HAREL UNDERSTANDABLY DEFENDED GUIRINGAUD ACTIONS IN TANZANIA, BUT OTHER QUAI OFFICIALS SAID THAT GUIRINGAUD HAD OVER-REACTED DURING THE FIRST FEW MINUTES, AND BY THE TIME HE WAS AWARE OF IT, THE SITUATION HAD GONE TOO FAR FOR HIM EASILY TO PULL BACK. AS IN THE CASE OF THE PRESS, FRENCH OFFICIALS GIVE GUIRINGAUD'S PERFORMANCE IN TANZANIA MIXED REVIEWS.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



ACCORDING TO QUAI SECRETARY GENERAL SOUTOU ANOTHER IMPORTANT RESULT OF THE TRIP WAS IN INCREASED GOF SENSITIVITY TO THE NUCLEAR PROBLEM IN AFRICA. THEY HAD FOUND A GENERAL "MYTHIFICATION" OF NUCLEAR MATTERS WHICH RESULTED IN THE CONFUSION OF A NUCLEAR POWER PLANT WITH A NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE DEVICE. GUIRINGAUD'S TRIP WILL THEREFORE FURTHER REINFORCE THOSE IN THE GOF, SUCH AS PRESIDENT GISCARD, WHO ARE SERIOUSLY CONCERNED

ABOUT NON-PROLIFERATION.

THE MEDIA HAD A FIELD DAY. THERE WERE ESSENTIALLY THREE KINDS OF REACTIONS:

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

(A) SUPERFICIAL PRAISE FOR GUIRINGAUD'S
DEFENSE OF FRANCE'S HONOR;
(B) RIGHT-WING CONCERN THAT FRANCE WAS GOING TOO
FAR IN ITS ATTACKS ON SOUTH AFRICA; AND
(C) A NUMBER OF THOUGHTFUL COMMENTS ABOUT FRENCH
POLICIES AND THE REASONS FOR AFRICAN HOSTILITY.
HARTMAN

NOTE BY OC/T: DISTRIBUTION COORDINATED WITH MR. CASWELL, S/S-O.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

# Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
**Channel Indicators:** n/a
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED
**Concepts:** MINISTERIAL VISITS, MEETING REPORTS
**Control Number:** n/a
**Copy:** SINGLE
**Sent Date:** 26-Aug-1977 12:00:00 am
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
**Decaption Note:**
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED
**Disposition Approved on Date:**
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009
**Disposition Event:**
**Disposition History:** n/a
**Disposition Reason:**
**Disposition Remarks:**
**Document Number:** 1977PARIS24822
**Document Source:** CORE
**Document Unique ID:** 00
**Drafter:** n/a
**Enclosure:** n/a
**Executive Order:** GS
**Errors:** N/A
**Expiration:**
**Film Number:** D770309-0573
**Format:** TEL
**From:** PARIS
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Image Path:**
**ISecure:** 1
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t19770819/aaaaapdf.tel
**Line Count:** 341
**Litigation Code IDs:**
**Litigation Codes:**
**Litigation History:**
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
**Message ID:** 86d55b52-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
**Office:** ACTION AF
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Page Count:** 7
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Reference:** 77 NAIROBI 10766, 77 LUSAKA 2451, 77 MAPUTO 1977
**Retention:** 0
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED
**Review Content Flags:**
**Review Date:** 01-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
**Review Event:**
**Review Exemptions:** n/a
**Review Media Identifier:**
**Review Release Date:** n/a
**Review Release Event:** n/a
**Review Transfer Date:**
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a
**SAS ID:** 1468683
**Secure:** OPEN
**Status:** NATIVE
**Subject:** GUIRINGAUD TRIP TO EAST AFRICA
**TAGS:** PDIP, FR, XW, (DE GUIRINGAUD, LOUIS)
**To:** STATE
**Type:** TE
**vdkvgwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/86d55b52-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
**Review Markings:**
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009